

CONFERENCE OF THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE
ON DISARMAMENT

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FINAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 24 August 1967, at 3 p.m.

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

OCT 25 1967

DOCUMENT
COLLECTION

Chairman:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV

(Bulgaria)

PRESENT AT THE TABLE

Brazil:

Mr. A.F. AZEREDO da SILVEIRA
Mr. C.A. de SOUZA e SILVA
Mr. A. da COSTA GUIMARAES
Mr. S. de QUEIROZ DUARTE

Bulgaria:

Mr. K. CHRISTOV
Mr. B. KONSTANTINOV
Mr. T. DAMIANOV

Burma:

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Canada:

Mr. E.L.M. BURNS
Mr. J.R. MORDEN
Mr. A. BERNIER

Czechoslovakia:

Mr. P. WINKLER
Mr. V. VAJNAR
Mr. J. STRUCKA
Mr. J. KRALIK

Ethiopia:

Mr. A. ZELLEKE
Mr. B. ASSFAW

India:

Mr. V.C. TRIVEDI
Mr. N. KRISHNAN
Mr. K.P. JAIN

Italy:

Mr. R. CARACCILO
Mr. G.P. TOZZOLI
Mr. E. FRANCO
Mr. F. SORO

Mexico:

Miss E. AGUIRRE

Nigeria:

Alhaji SULE KOLO
Mr. B.O. TONWE

Poland:

Mr. J. GOLDBLAT
Mr. E. STANIEWSKI
Mrs. M. COSMA-KOMPANIEJCEW

Romania:

Mr. N. ECOBESCO
Mr. O. IONESCO
Mr. C. GEORGESCO
Mr. A. COROIANU

Sweden:

Mr. A. EDELSTAM
Mr. R. BOMAN

Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics:

Mr. A.A. ROSHCHIN
Mr. V.P. SUSLOV
Mr. V.V. SHUSTOV

United Arab Republic:

Mr. H. KHALLAF
Mr. A. OSMAN
Mr. O. SIRRY
Mr. M. SHAKER

United Kingdom:

Sir Harold BEELEY
Mr. I.F. PORTER
Mr. R.I.T. CROMARTIE

United States of America:

Mr. W.C. FOSTER
Mr. G. BUNN
Mr. C. GLEYSTEN
Mr. G. BREAM

Special Representative of the
Secretary-General

Mr. D. PROTITCH

Deputy Special Representative
of the Secretary-General:

Mr. W. EPSTEIN

1. The CHAIRMAN (Bulgaria) (translation from French): I declare open the 325th plenary meeting of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

2. Mr. FOSTER (United States of America): I have a statement of today's date by President Lyndon B. Johnson, which reads as follows:

"Today at Geneva the United States and the Soviet Union as Co-Chairmen of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee are submitting to the Committee a draft treaty to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

"For more than twenty years, the world has watched with growing fear as nuclear weapons have spread.

"Since 1945, five nations have come into possession of these dreadful weapons. We believe now -- as we did then -- that even one such nation is too many. But the issue now is not whether some have nuclear weapons while others do not. The issue is whether the nations will agree to prevent a bad situation from becoming worse.

"Today, for the first time, we have within our reach an instrument which permits us to make a choice.

"The submission of a draft treaty brings us to the final and most critical stage of this effort. The draft will be available for consideration by all governments, and for negotiation by the Conference.

"The treaty must reconcile the interests of nations with our interest as a community of human beings on a small planet. The treaty must be responsive to the needs and problems of all the nations of the world -- great and small, aligned and non-aligned, nuclear and non-nuclear.

"It must add to the security of all.

"It must encourage the development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

"It must provide adequate protection against the corruption of the peaceful atom to its use for weapons of war.

"I am convinced that we are today offering an instrument that will meet these requirements.

"If we now go forward to completion of a world-wide agreement, we will pass on a great gift to those who follow us.

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"We shall demonstrate that --- despite all his problems, quarrels, and distractions -- man still retains a capacity to design his fate, rather than be engulfed by it.

"Failure to complete our work will be interpreted by our children and grandchildren as a betrayal of conscience, in a world that needs all of its resources and talents to serve life, not death.

"I have given instructions to the United States representative, William C. Foster, which reflect our determination to ensure that a fair and effective treaty is concluded.

"The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament now has before it the opportunity to make a cardinal contribution to man's safety and peace."

I request that that statement be circulated as a Conference document^{1/}.

3. A major milestone on the path towards achievement of a non-proliferation treaty is marked today.

4. An important initial milestone was the unanimous adoption in 1961 of General Assembly resolution 1665 (XVI), the "Irish resolution". Public debate here and in New York, private negotiations and additional action by the General Assembly and the United Nations Disarmament Commission followed in the succeeding years.

5. The year 1965 was marked by the public presentation of concrete treaty texts, by the submission of an eight-nation joint memorandum on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/158) and by the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2028 (XX) (ENDC/161). As a result, multilateral negotiations in this Committee and in the General Assembly took on new meaning.

6. Given this new direction and impetus, the 1966 negotiations in this Committee succeeded in identifying with greater clarity the major obstacles to agreement. At the end of the session of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament that year, the following comment appeared in another eight-nation joint memorandum:

"The eight delegations regret that it has not so far been possible to arrive at an agreement on a treaty acceptable to all concerned. They are deeply conscious of the danger inherent in a situation without an agreement that prevents proliferation of nuclear weapons. They view with apprehension the possibility that such a situation may lead not only to an increase of nuclear arsenals and to a spread of nuclear weapons over the world, but also to an increase in the number of nuclear weapon Powers, thus aggravating the tensions between States and the risk of nuclear war.

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"The eight delegations are aware that a main obstacle to an agreement has so far been constituted by differences concerning nuclear armaments within alliances, a problem mainly discussed between the major Powers and their allies." (ENDC/178, p.2)

7. Today, for the first time, conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty is within reach. The members of this Committee, all of whom have helped to bring the negotiations to this point, share in the achievement we mark today. As will be seen from a careful examination, the draft is based upon the principles enunciated in the joint memoranda and resolution 2028 (XX).

8. The draft non-proliferation treaty we are presenting today is a recommendation for discussion and negotiation in the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and for the consideration of all governments. We have worked long and hard over it. We have sought to take into account the interests of all potential adherents. This draft reflects constructive suggestions made by other delegations here and by other governments. We could not, of course, expect governments to be committed to this draft at this point; since all governments would want to be able to consider improvements which might be suggested here.

9. We recognize the interest of governments not represented on this Committee to have their views on the draft non-proliferation treaty made known during this next and crucial stage in the elaboration of the treaty. A procedure already exists for the circulation within the Committee of the views of non-members.

10. Now let me present a brief explanation of the provisions of the draft. I submit the draft treaty with the request that it be circulated as a Conference document^{2/}.

11. Article I deals with the obligations of nuclear-weapon States. First, they cannot transfer nuclear weapons, or control over them, to any recipient whatsoever. Second, they cannot assist non-nuclear-weapon States to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons. Third, these prohibitions are applicable not only to nuclear weapons but also to other nuclear explosive devices.

12. Article II deals with the obligations of non-nuclear-weapon States and is the obverse of article I. First, such States cannot receive the transfer of nuclear weapons, or control over them, from any transferor whatsoever. Second, they cannot manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or seek or receive assistance for such manufacture. Third, these prohibitions are applicable not only to nuclear weapons but also to other nuclear explosive devices.

^{2/} Circulated as document ENDC/192

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13. We have already made clear the reasons for including such devices in the prohibitions of the treaty. These devices could be used as nuclear weapons, and the technology for making them is essentially indistinguishable from that of nuclear weapons.

14. The United States recognizes that the benefits which may some day be realized from nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes should be available to the non-nuclear States. In his message of 21 February to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, President Johnson stated:

"The United States is prepared to make available nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes on a non-discriminatory basis under appropriate international safeguards. We are prepared to join other nuclear States in a commitment to do this." (ENDC/187, p.2)

My delegation elaborated on this proposal in interventions at our meetings on 21 March (ENDC/PV.295) and 8 June (ENDC/PV.303).

15. We are pleased that the preamble of the draft non-proliferation treaty contains a forthright provision on peaceful nuclear explosions. It states that --

"... potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions should be available through appropriate international procedures to non-nuclear-weapon States Party to this Treaty on a non-discriminatory basis and that the charge to such Parties for the explosive devices used should be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and development" (ENDC/192, p.2).

16. Article III, the safeguards article, has been left blank, although there are several references to safeguards in the preamble. The article is blank because the co-Chairmen have not yet been able to work out a formula which would be acceptable to all States that wish to support the treaty. The co-Chairmen are continuing their consultations with a view to drafting an agreed text for this article. In the meantime, I hope that the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee plenary discussion will focus on the provisions which have been submitted today and that discussion of safeguards will be deferred for the time being while the co-Chairmen work on the problem.

17. Article IV results from many suggestions by non-nuclear-weapon countries that the treaty contain an article on peaceful uses of atomic energy. Indeed, the idea for such an article was originally derived from the Treaty of Tlatelolco, Mexico (ENDC/136). The article describes two recognized rights of parties with respect to

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peaceful uses. First, it makes clear that nothing in the draft treaty interferes with the right of the parties to develop their research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in compliance with articles I and II, which, of course, include provisions on peaceful nuclear explosive devices. Second, it recognizes the right of the parties to participate in the fullest possible exchange of information for and to contribute, alone or in co-operation with other States, to the further development of the applications of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. These two rights are specific elaborations of the principle stated in the preamble "that the benefits of peaceful applications of nuclear technology ... should be available for peaceful purposes to all Parties ..., whether nuclear-weapon or non-nuclear-weapon States" (ENDC/192, p.1). As the preamble also makes clear, this principle includes not only modern reactor technology and the like but also "any technological by-products which may be derived by nuclear-weapon States from the development of nuclear explosive devices." (ibid.)

18. These provisions make it clear that the treaty would promote, not discourage, national development and international co-operation with respect to peaceful application of atomic energy. This applies to research, production and use as well as to information, equipment and materials.

19. Article V deals with amendments and review. Paragraph 1 states how amendments may be initiated and is derived from the test-ban Treaty (ENDC/100/Rev.1).

Paragraph 2 describes how amendments enter into force. It provides that an amendment must be approved by a majority of the parties, including the nuclear-weapon parties and all other parties that are members of the Board of Governors International Atomic Energy Agency.

20. The last paragraph of article V provides for a conference after five years to review the treaty's operation with a view to assuring that its purposes and provisions are being realized. This will provide an opportunity for non-nuclear and nuclear-weapon States alike to assess whether the treaty is accomplishing its primary purpose of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, and also its purposes of easing international tensions and facilitating agreement on cessation of the nuclear arms race and on disarmament. The review conference is thus relevant to the question of further measures of disarmament, a question which has been of such interest to many members of this Committee.

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21. The draft also contains preambular provisions on arms control and disarmament, including a declaration of intention to achieve a cessation of the nuclear arms race at the earliest possible date. The "declaration of intention" form was, of course, suggested in the eight-nation joint memorandum on non-proliferation (ENDC/178) of last August. In a similar vein, a later preambular paragraph calls for the cessation of production of nuclear weapons and the elimination of nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles from national arsenals, pursuant to a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

22. Those preambular provisions state the purposes of the treaty. Steps towards achievement of these purposes would be reviewed by the review conference to which I have referred. Thus, while no specific obligation to nuclear disarmament would appear, the preambular provisions combined with the review paragraph in article V would provide the most realistic approach to this problem.

23. We share the general desire for early progress to halt the nuclear arms race and to begin the process of reducing and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons from national arsenals. The United States has proposed, and will continue to pursue, various measures to achieve these objectives. But we all know why it would not be feasible to incorporate specific obligations to that end in the treaty itself. The differences that have prevented agreement on these measures have not yet been resolved. Any attempt to incorporate specific nuclear arms limitation obligations in the treaty would inevitably also inject these differences into the consideration of the treaty itself and could only jeopardize its prospects.

24. Let us therefore agree to pursue these nuclear arms limitation measures with a greater sense of urgency and, I would hope, in a spirit of greater co-operation. Let us also all agree that this treaty must be regarded as a step towards the achievement of these other necessary measures. We are convinced that the treaty will create a more favourable environment for agreement on them. That is why we believe we must concentrate now on ways to expedite and facilitate the conclusion of this treaty and avoid actions which would delay or jeopardize it. The situation requires that our efforts be focussed on achieving a realistic agreement as soon as possible.

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25. Article VI contains signature and entry-into-force provisions derived from those of the test-ban treaty. It would require that a certain number of non-nuclear-weapon States in addition to the nuclear-weapon signatories would have to ratify before the treaty would enter into force. We have not expressed a view on the precise number. The United States believes it should be sufficiently large so that the treaty will begin to achieve its purpose when it enters into force.

26. Article VII states that the treaty shall be of unlimited duration. It contains a withdrawal clause similar to that of the test-ban treaty, with one significant improvement. The notice of withdrawal, together with a statement of the reasons therefor, would be submitted to the United Nations Security Council as well as to the parties. The withdrawal provision is central to this treaty. States will adhere to the treaty if they believe it is consistent with their security interests. Under the proposed clause, a party can cease to be bound by the treaty if it decides that its supreme interests have been jeopardized by extraordinary events related to the subject matter of the treaty.

27. Article VIII provides depositary procedures for the treaty text. It also states that the treaty will be equally authentic in each of the five official languages of the United Nations.

28. We recognize that the problem of security assurances, which is of concern to some non-aligned countries, remains to be considered. The United States maintains the view that this is a matter which, because of its complexity and the divergent interests involved, cannot be dealt with in the treaty itself. We are, however, exploring various possible solutions, including action which could be taken in the context of the United Nations, whose primary purpose is the maintenance of peace and security. We expect that the co-Chairmen will be exploring this problem further with a view to presenting recommendations to this Committee in the course of our consideration of the treaty.

29. If the draft presented today leads to a generally-accepted treaty, our generation will pass on a gift of great benefit to future generations. Such a treaty will lessen the danger of nuclear war. It will stimulate widespread peaceful development of nuclear energy. It will improve the chance for nuclear disarmament. It will help

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reduce tensions. Like the test-ban treaty and the outer space treaty (General Assembly resolution 2222(XXI)), it will constitute a major step towards a more peaceful world. It will be a treaty for all of us, but most of all for our children and our grandchildren.

30. The future safety of mankind requires prompt action to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. An unprecedented opportunity to do so now awaits us. Let us seize this opportunity while we can.

31. Mr. ROSHCHIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translation from Russian): The Soviet delegation is today submitting for the consideration of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.^{3/} This draft expresses the policy line of the Soviet Union, aimed at solving the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and is the result of the persistent political struggle carried on by the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all peace-loving peoples in seeking to reduce international tension and to eliminate the threat of nuclear war.

32. The Soviet Union together with the other socialist countries, acting from the position of peaceful co-existence, together with all the peace-loving States has for many years been pressing for real and effective measures which would set up a reliable barrier in the way of the further spread of nuclear weapons. The Soviet side regards this problem as one of the key questions of European and international security and, in working out the draft treaty on non-proliferation, has sought and is seeking to ensure that the treaty will serve the cause of strengthening peace and the interests of all peoples. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Kosygin, speaking at the emergency special session of the United Nations General Assembly on 19 June, emphasized that -

"The nuclear age has created a new reality in questions of war and peace.

It has vested in the States a far greater responsibility in all that pertains to these problems." (A/PV.1526, p. 6)

33. The draft treaty submitted to the Committee is the result of the negotiations and discussions that have been going on for many years among States at sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, in the Eighteen-Nation Committee and, within

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its framework, between the two co-Chairmen. It is the result of the collective efforts of many countries, aimed at halting the nuclear arms race and reversing the growth of the threat of nuclear war. It contains the ideas and propositions put forward in the course of the negotiations by the representatives of many countries that seek to ensure the effective prevention of the further spread of nuclear weapons.

34. The international and legal obligations which are contained in the draft treaty and which are placed on both the nuclear and the non-nuclear States are intended fully to ensure the fulfilment of the basic purpose which the treaty is designed to achieve: namely, to preclude any possibility of any proliferation whatsoever of such weapons throughout the world. Under the provisions of the draft treaty the nuclear Powers are prohibited from transferring nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices to anyone whatsoever, directly or indirectly. In order to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the nuclear Powers are also prohibited from transferring control over nuclear weapons and other nuclear explosive devices to anyone whatsoever.

35. Lastly, it has been provided that the nuclear States shall not in any way assist, encourage or induce any non-nuclear States to manufacture or acquire by any means nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices. In their turn, the non-nuclear countries are invited to undertake not to manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, and not to receive the transfer of such weapons or nuclear explosive devices from anyone whatsoever.

36. These provisions of the draft treaty, which are fully in accord with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, are of extremely great importance for preserving peace and safeguarding international security. In the circumstances of acute international crises and the existence of dangerous hotbeds of conflict, the spread of nuclear weapons to further areas would make the situation in the world still more unstable and tense and would increase many times over the threat of an outbreak of nuclear war. Contrariwise, the conclusion of a treaty that would firmly block all ways and channels leading to the proliferation of nuclear weapons would make it possible to ensure a more reliable degree of general security for States and would bring about such an international situation as would be favourable to the strengthening of peace. All countries, nuclear and non-nuclear alike, would stand

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to gain, because with the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty an important step would be taken towards the relaxation of international tension and the creation of conditions of greater trust between States.

37. In submitting to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union regards this document not only from the point of view of the contribution which the treaty will make to the cause of averting the threat of a nuclear war but also from the point of view of the positive influence which the solution of the problem of non-proliferation will have on the development of peaceful ways of using atomic energy in the non-nuclear countries. Atomic energy, which is a great achievement of human genius, must be a powerful means of improving the well-being of the peoples of all the countries of the world and not an instrument of destruction and death.

38. The Soviet side has assumed and continues to assume that a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is destined to open up before the non-nuclear States favourable prospects in regard to the development of their atomic industry, in regard to utilizing the great potentialities of the peaceful atom. This position of the Soviet Union is determined by the basic principles of the foreign policy of our State, which consistently advocates the equality and independence of all States and respect for their sovereignty and is giving wide support to many countries which have taken the path of independence, in the development of their national economies.

39. The draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons definitely and clearly confirms the inalienable right of all the parties to the treaty to develop research and the production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without any discrimination. The draft treaty also confirms the right of States to participate in the fullest possible exchange of information and to contribute alone or in co-operation with other States to the further development of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

40. It is our profound conviction that renunciation by the non-nuclear countries of military ways of using atomic energy will stimulate the development of wide international co-operation in the field of research and improvement of the peaceful forms of the nuclear activities of States, which would be in keeping with the interests of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes on both the national and the international scale.

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41. In advocating the general availability of the benefits of the peaceful use of the atom, the Soviet Union adheres to this principle also in regard to the use of nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes. We consider that in solving this question no channels or loop-holes should be opened for the proliferation of nuclear weapons, on the one hand, and on the other hand that the interests of the non-nuclear States which would desire to use nuclear explosive devices for carrying out some particular project in the field of peaceful development in the future should not be infringed.

42. The potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions should be available through appropriate international procedures to all non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the treaty on a non-discriminatory basis. As laid down in the text of the draft treaty, the charge for nuclear explosive devices intended for peaceful purposes should be as low as possible and exclude any charge for research and the development of such explosive devices. Thus the proposed solution of the question of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, in our view, corresponds fully to the political and economic interests of the non-nuclear-weapon States, as well as to the fundamental idea of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

43. While attaching great importance to the elaboration and conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union at the same time has always based itself on the premise that this treaty is not an end in itself but is only one of the preliminary steps towards restricting and stopping the nuclear arms race. The policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at achieving an agreement on the cessation of the arms race and on the complete disarmament of all States. It is precisely from the point of view of this wide perspective that we regard a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which will to a considerable extent facilitate further joint actions by States in the field of nuclear and general disarmament.

44. Basing itself on its policy in the field of disarmament, the Soviet Union has advocated that in the draft non-proliferation treaty it should be clearly stipulated that the parties to the treaty will undertake efforts to help bring about the cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, the liquidation of all their

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existing stockpiles, and the elimination of nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles from the national arsenals of States in accordance with an agreement on general and complete disarmament. Thus, by an international instrument as constituted by the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, it is proposed to indicate the fundamental objective towards which States will and must strive in their efforts to bring about the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the accomplishment of general disarmament. The Soviet Union regards the struggle for disarmament as one of the most important directions of its foreign policy activities and will do everything necessary on its part to ensure progress in solving the disarmament problems that are ripe for solution.

45. In submitting to the Eighteen-Nation Committee a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the Soviet delegation would also like to emphasize that the draft treaty includes a provision, put forward by the non-nuclear countries, to the effect that the non-proliferation treaty should not have an adverse effect on the right of any group of States to conclude regional agreements in order to assure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories. This provision is in keeping with the aim of strengthening peace and with the objectives of the policy of the Soviet Union which advocates the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world.

46. In working out the draft non-proliferation treaty we have endeavoured to ensure the reliability and stability of the future treaty, to give to all the parties to it the assurance that this treaty will be a viable and effective instrument for consolidating world peace. It is precisely in this spirit that the provisions on the procedure relating to the submission of amendments to the treaty, to its signature and to its entry into force and so on have been formulated.

47. For the time being the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is being submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Committee without the article on international control, in regard to which the exchange of views

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between the two co-Chairmen is being continued for the purpose of elaborating an agreed text. The Soviet Union bases itself firmly on the premise that in order to keep watch on the fulfilment of the treaty effective international control should be established, which would provide reliable guarantees of the consistent implementation of this international agreement. We consider that such control should serve exclusively the purpose of verifying the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by States under the treaty to renounce the manufacture of nuclear weapons without interference in the internal affairs of States. The Soviet Union has exerted and will continue to exert efforts to ensure, as stated in the preamble to the treaty, the establishment of international control through the International Atomic Agency, whose safeguards system is universally recognized and accepted by the overwhelming majority of States.

48. The Soviet Union also attaches great importance to the question of security guarantees for the non-nuclear countries which will assume under the non-proliferation treaty the obligation not to manufacture and not to acquire nuclear weapons. It is well known that as long ago as 1966 the USSR proposed to include in the treaty a provision to the effect that the nuclear Powers should undertake not to use nuclear weapons against the non-nuclear States which have no nuclear weapons on their territories (ENDC/167, p.3). In submitting the draft treaty the Soviet delegation bases itself on the understanding reached between the co-Chairmen to continue the exchange of views on security guarantees for the non-nuclear countries in order to find a positive solution to this urgent and important problem.

49. The struggle of the Soviet Union for the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is closely connected with the general foreign policy of the Soviet State, which stands for averting the threat of nuclear war, eliminating the centres of tension and aggression and safeguarding the security of all peoples. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, speaking at a reception in the Kremlin on 5 July, said:

"The Soviet Union will continue to go along the road of an unflagging struggle against the aggressive forces of imperialism, for the strengthening of universal peace and the relaxation of international tension."

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50. Together with other socialist countries and all peace-loving States, the Soviet Union resolutely calls for the cessation of the imperialist aggression of the United States in Viet-Nam, which is assuming an ever wider scale and becoming more and more dangerous to peace, and demands the immediate cessation of the bombing of the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam by United States aircraft -- an action condemned by the peoples of the world.

51. The USSR and other socialist countries demand the elimination of all the consequences of the Israeli aggression against the Arab States and, above all, the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories. It cannot be tolerated that the aggressor should be allowed to remain unpunished and to derive advantages from his treacherous attack.

52. In Europe the Soviet Union advocates the establishment of an effective system of collective security, the ensuring of such conditions as would prevent the forces of imperialism and revanchism from threatening once again the peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

53. Faithful to the policy of peace and the prevention of a new world war, the Soviet Union is doing its utmost to reverse the arms race and to ensure, on the basis of disarmament, reliable security for all peoples. The conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would be an important step in this direction. It would open up for all States that are concerned to avert the threat of a new world war favourable prospects in their struggle for the improvement of the present international situation and for safeguarding the security of all peoples.

54. Mr. BURNS (Canada): The Canadian delegation wishes to congratulate most heartily the co-Chairmen of our Conference on submitting the draft treaty on non-proliferation. All delegations have long hoped for this to happen, and some of us have felt that for too long we have had a diet of "hope deferred". Nevertheless we recognize the very considerable difficulties which have been overcome in producing this joint draft, and that is the chief reason for our congratulations. Not only had the original divergences between the points of view of the United States and the Soviet Union to be reconciled, but account had to be taken of the positions of other countries which had the capacity to produce nuclear weapons if they should decide to do so -- and, of course, there are several countries with such capacity which are not represented in the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee.

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55. My delegation has been encouraged also by the content and emphasis of the statements just made by our co-Chairmen, as far as they relate to the non-proliferation treaty, which set out their considerations concerning the draft text they have placed before us and their views concerning the continuing task which we have in front of us.

56. The Canadian position with regard to the most important aspects of a non-proliferation treaty has been set out in general terms at several of our meetings, and it is not necessary to repeat our views now. Those interested may find our position given in statements made on 28 February (ENDC/PV.289), 25 May (ENDC/PV.299) and 3 August (ENDC/PV.319). As those views were stated before we had a text, they are not, of course, our final word. Now that we have a specific text, it will be carefully examined by our authorities to see whether it conforms in an acceptable degree to what we consider to be the essentials of a non-proliferation treaty. Naturally I shall have to await instructions before stating the Canadian position on specific points.

57. We have all understood for some time that we shall have to wait longer for the text of article III, a very important article -- as emphasized by our co-Chairmen in their statements -- which will deal with the safeguards that will be required to ensure that no party to the treaty is diverting to the making of nuclear weapons nuclear material intended for peaceful nuclear activities. We hope that the co-Chairmen will successfully conclude their negotiations on that point and will soon propose a text to us. Meanwhile the Canadian delegation will be interested to hear the views of other delegations on that point, and indeed on all the aspects of the draft treaty.

58. One can fairly safely make one prediction in regard to our negotiations and debates on this very important measure during the next few weeks, and that is that not every delegation here will be entirely satisfied with whatever text will be finally adopted. However, if we study the consensus text agreed upon between the United States and the Soviet Union and compare it with the original texts they submitted respectively to the Conference (ENDC/152 and Add.1; 164), it will be seen that both sides have been willing to modify their points of view in order to reach accord. The Canadian delegation hopes that other members of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee and other important countries having nuclear potential outside this Committee will be willing to follow the lead in compromise given by the countries represented by our co-Chairmen.

(Mr. Burns, Canada)

59. We must keep firmly in our minds, the Canadian delegation would suggest, what our fundamental object here is. What we think most important, and what the world outside would consider to be our principal object, is to avert nuclear war. For nuclear war to be positively averted, nuclear disarmament is required. As the first step towards nuclear disarmament we must have agreement that the possession of and power to utilize nuclear weapons will not spread to more nations; in other words, we must have a non-proliferation treaty. Canada sees this as an indisputably necessary first step. Naturally, all nations represented here will take due account of national interests in developing nuclear energy. However, in the end we must be prepared to come to terms on a text which will be a vitally important move towards the great goal we pursue.

60. Mr. EDELSTAM (Sweden): The Swedish Government is today issuing a public declaration on the subject we are now discussing here. I should like to read out the text to the Committee:

"The Swedish Government greets with the greatest satisfaction that the United States and the Soviet Union have been able to put forward in Geneva today identical drafts of a treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, even if a text of the article on controls is not yet available. Behind these drafts lies a long and difficult period of preparatory work. Since the conclusion of the test-ban treaty in 1963^{4/}, the presentation of these drafts represents the most positive action in the field of political détente.

"It is now our hope that the member States of the Disarmament Conference shall be able to reach agreement on a final draft text, intended primarily as a recommendation to be presented to the coming session of the United Nations General Assembly. As a participant in the disarmament negotiations in Geneva, Sweden is naturally ready to contribute in a constructive way, so that the final treaty proposal will be effective and acceptable to the greatest number of States.

"As late as yesterday, after meeting in Helsinki in Finland, the Foreign Ministers of the five Nordic countries said that a non-proliferation treaty with as universal an adhesion as possible would imply an important step forward towards international relaxation of tension and increased

(Mr. Edelstam, Sweden)

security. They further drew attention to the importance of arriving as speedily as possible at an agreement banning underground nuclear tests.

"It is the hope of the Swedish Government that a non-proliferation agreement will be a step on the road towards further successful disarmament work in the field of nuclear arms."

61. Mr. TRIVEDI (India): The Indian delegation welcomes the fact that the delegations of the United States and the Soviet Union have now submitted to the Committee revised texts of a draft treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Their original drafts (ENDC/152 and Add.1; 164) were submitted by them two years ago, in August and September 1965 respectively. The Indian delegation and other delegations have from time to time offered comments on those drafts as well as on the vital considerations which should be borne in mind in drafting an appropriate and adequate treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a treaty which would provide a real solution of the problem.
62. The eight non-aligned delegations referred to the 1965 drafts in their joint memorandum (ENDC/178) of 19 August 1966. While confirming their belief that it was possible and indeed urgent to negotiate a treaty which would reflect the mandate given by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 2028(XX) (ENDC/161) and which would be acceptable to all concerned and satisfactory to the international community, they recognized that the two drafts treaties were submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union before the adoption of that resolution and "could not pay full attention to the principles laid down in it" (ENDC/178, p.2).
63. At its twenty-first session the United Nations General Assembly reaffirmed the earlier resolution and called upon all States to adhere strictly to the principles laid down in it for negotiating a non-proliferation treaty. In its resolution 2153A(XXI) (ENDC/185), it also asked the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to consider inter alia the question of security assurances in this context. Therefore we in this Committee, entrusted with the task of negotiation, will need to examine the revised drafts in the context of this background and in particular whether they conform fully to the principles of the historic resolution 2028(XX) as advocated by the non-aligned delegations and as urged by the United Nations General Assembly.

(Mr. Trivedi, India)

64. We should always bear in mind that it is the Committee's mandate to negotiate an international treaty, based on the five main principles enjoined in that resolution, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Our objective is to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons by all countries and for that purpose to work out a draft treaty which is effective and equitable and which takes into account the interests and concerns not only of the nuclear-weapon Powers and their allies but also of the non-aligned, non-nuclear-weapon Powers -- in fact, of the entire international community. We should also remember that it is our objective, equally, to control the apparatus of war and not the instruments of peace and progress.

65. The Indian delegation will co-operate with other delegations in this constructive endeavour of fruitful negotiation. We shall immediately communicate the new drafts to our Government for its consideration, and in due course we shall offer our detailed comments and suggestions in the Committee.

66. Miss AGUIRRE (Mexico) (translation from Spanish): On behalf of the delegation of Mexico, I wish to associate myself with the members of the Committee who have spoken before me in congratulating the representatives both of the United States and of the Soviet Union on submitting the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

67. My delegation is glad that we now have a document which gives us a firm base for our work and which despite the gaps it contains -- which will no doubt be filled during further negotiations between the co-Chairmen -- represents a very important step towards the solution of the problem of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, a problem in which my country is greatly interested and for the solution of which, in co-operation with the other States of Latin America, it has contributed to the concluding of the Treaty of Tlatelolco (ENDC/186), which was referred to by Mr. Foster and with which all the members of the Committee are familiar.

68. With regard to the substance of the draft treaty, after my Government has studied it carefully the delegation of Mexico will state its opinion. All that remains for me is to hope that our discussions in the Committee and the future negotiations of the co-Chairmen will be fruitful.

The Conference decided to issue the following communiqué:

"The Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament today held its 325th plenary meeting in the Palais des Nations, Geneva, under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Kroum Christov, representative of Bulgaria.

"Statements were made by the representatives of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Canada, Sweden, India and Mexico.

"The United States delegation tabled the text of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/192).

"The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics tabled the text of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (ENDC/193).

"The United States delegation transmitted a statement by President Lyndon B. Johnson dated 24 August 1967 (ENDC/194).

"The next meeting of the Conference will be held on Tuesday, 29 August 1967 at 10.30 a.m."

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.